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CHAPTER I

THE BEDOUINS OF AL-QASR: PAST AND PRESENT

General Historical Background

121 No full historical account of events leading up to the present study is intended here. Only a fragment of history, a backdrop to the discussion of al-Qasr Bedouin society is offered. The account is an effort to trace, historically, the arrival of the Bedouin into the Egyptian Western Desert.

175 167 During the Arab conquest of Egypt in 639 A.D., tribesmen made only a few forays into Upper Egypt. But these sojourns represent the first intrusion of the Bedouin strain into this part of the world and were the vanguard of a force which would conquer all of North Africa. The Bedouin tribesmen of the Arab army found the pastures of Upper Egypt similar to their traditional habitat in Arabia, and certain trible segments settled in the area.

175 In 647 A.D., Muslim troops under the command of Ibn abu-Sarh pushed across the Western Desert as far as Tripoli in present-day Libya. This was an expeditionary force, and not until about 670 did permanent Arab occupation come to Libya. Historical sources are vague about the nature of the relationship between the Arabs and the Berbers of the newly

175 conquered lands. Generally, the Berbers fought assimilation and change when and where they could, just as they had in their confrontations with the Greeks and Romans. But as the Arabs took more and more of the "sown" lands of North Africa, Berber resistance decreased. Only in mountainous areas, such as the Kabyle region (from the Arabic qabaa'il, i.e., "tribes"), were the Berbers successful against the Arabization process.

Around the time of 908 A.D., the Ismaili Shi'a sect, based in the Yemen, established a western mission in Tunisia. This outpost grew into the Fatimid Dynasty, and in 969 the Fatimids were able to capture Egypt from the central Islamic empire. By the 11th century they had reached their zenith as a religious and political power. At this time, their rule was threatened internally by two Bedouin tribes, the Bedouin element in Egypt, the Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaim.

175 In his Histoire des Berberes (trans. 1925), Ibn Khaldun
167 states that the original homeland of these two tribes was the Najd area of Arabia. They were dangerous predators who spent their summers raiding along the frontiers of Syria and Iraq: the Banu Sulaim even attacked pilgrims traveling to and from Mecca (1925:28-166). Some segments of these tribes found their way into the delta region of Egypt where they became troublesome to the Fatimid Caliph, and were promptly exiled into Upper
175 Egypt. Apparently, they were responsible for discord among the other tribes there, for in an attempt to solve two problems

175 with one move, the Caliph sent these Bedouins into battle in order to enforce authority in his western Berber provinces. This order set in motion the great "Hilali invasion." The tribesmen of Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaim literally slashed their way across eastern North Africa laying waste to towns and fields as they went (Ibn Khaldun 1925:29; Brockelmann 1939: 204).

175 648 The Arab Bedouins recruited Berbers as they went, especially in Libya. Between the years 1052 and 1054, these marauding nomads sacked the rich agricultural lands of Tripolitania and Tunisia, lands which had been in production since the time of the Romans (Mahdi 1964:21). The Banu Sulaim, according to Ibn Khaldun (1925:136), concentrated their action in an area from Alexandria to Tripolitania. It was over this region, which includes Cyrenaica in eastern Libya, that they established their rule. Ibn Khaldun states that the two tribes agreed to divide the conquered territory between them, the eastern lands going to the Banu Sulaim and the western lands to the Banu Hilal (1925:33-34). Such a division of territorial rights in

175 571 182 Arab Bedouin society is representative of a set of authority relationships. Differentiation in the locus of authority, *[613] whether it be horizontal or hierarchical, is a method of maintaining political order among segments of the lineage structure.

175 114 619 Evans-Pritchard states that the Cyrenaican Bedouins are descendants of the Banu Sulaim and represent an admixture

175 between the Bedouin and the Berbers (1954:46-47). G. W.
114 Murray informs us that the Bedouins of the Egyptian Western
619 Desert themselves believe this to be the case (1935:33, 247). I agree that the Cyrenaican Bedouin are the descendants of the Banu Sulaim; nevertheless, and despite what Murray says, my informants (when they knew) claimed to be descendants of the Banu Hilal. They refer to their ancestress, Sa'ada, as al-Hilaliyya, "she of the Banu Hilal."

175 Data concerning the Awlad 'Ali migratory history are
169 insufficient for a satisfactory reconstruction of the process. As we have noted, there were two invasions of North Africa by the Arabs. The first, about 643 A.D., was a shock wave from the Arab conquest of Egypt in which the Arabs defeated the Luwata Berbers who were living in eastern Libya. The second invasion, in the 11th century, took place at the hands of the Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaim and penetrated into the North African countryside. As a result, the Banu Salaim tribe settled in Cyrenaica where they intermingled with the Luwata Berbers. That part of Cyrenaica which they claimed as their [103] territory they called the Jabal Akhdar (i.e. "Green Mountain"), a plateau region set back from the coast. The Bedouins of al-Qasr refer to the Jabal Akhdar as their original homeland (see Figure 1).

We hear nothing more of the Banu Salaim until the 17th century. At this time, segments of the tribe began drifting

175 eastward toward the Nile Valley. It is not possible to
167 determine the exact conditions associated with this migration, but they probably parallel later movements which are connected with tribal conflicts over land and water rights. In 1689, Bedouins from Libya raided Egyptian oases in the Western Desert (Murray 1935:29). From this date on, for a period of some forty years, records show a continual movement of Bedouins out of Libya into Egypt. Some groups went as far as the Nile Valley and were eventually assimilated into the peasant population there. Tribal movements at the end of the 17th century involved whole tribes and also tribal sections and fragments. Thus in some cases, authority relations arising from territorial bonds were dissipated; but in other cases, political ties were strung across the Libyan Desert from Cyrenaica to the Nile Valley. "Today there is not a Cyrenaican tribe, or even large section, which has not some of its members in Egypt, often whole lineages" (Evans-Pritchard 1954:49-50).

175 Evans-Pritchard's study of the Sanusi, valuable for
619 its analysis of Italian colonial records, shows that the
726 Awlad 'Ali were driven from Cyrenaica by its sister tribe,
167 the Harabi, with the help of the Turkish rulers of Libya.
[648] This took place, he says, about 150 years ago. When the Awlad 'Ali arrived in Egypt, they found the Hanadi tribe already there. In a chain of conflicts, the Hanadi had displaced the Banu'Una, forcing them into the Nile Valley:

175 then came the Awlad 'Ali.
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167 Around the year 1800, the Awlad 'Ali were able to defeat the Hanadi with the help of another Cyrenaican tribe dwelling in the area, the Jumi'at. The Jumi'at were a vassal tribe who changed their allegiance from the Hanadi to the Awlad 'Ali after this war. The Hanadi, as the Banu'Una before them, were forced into the Nile Valley. Today, they [131] live in Sharqiyya Province and are no longer distinguishable from the peasant population.

175 According to Evans-Pritchard, the Awlad 'Ali were still
619 in possession of eastern Cyrenaica in 1800. Then there occurred
726 "long and savagely fought" wars ending with the expulsion of
114 the Awlad 'Ali. But this time schedule seems unlikely since the Awlad 'Ali were already at war with the Hanadi when
175 Napoleon landed near Alexandria in 1798. The Bedouin war has
648 been amusingly described by the French historian Lacroix (in
181 Murray 1935:30) who accompanied the Napoleonic expedition:

> At five o'clock, the first Bedouin were seen on the flank of the army, and shortly afterwards one saw four or five hundred; it was the tribe of Henady, the fiercest Arabs of these deserts. They were almost naked, swarthy, and lean; their horses seemed wornout hacks; save for the helmet, it was Don Quixote as represented in the engravings ...if these five hundred Arabs had been Mamelukes, they would have been able to obtain a great success at this first moment, when the soldiers' imaginations were alert and ready to receive any impression, but these Arabs were as cowardly as the Mamelukes, who had charged an hour before, were brave.

175 According to Murray, on July fourth "thirty Sheikhs of the
648 Hanadi, the Awlad 'Ali, and the Beni'Una made their peace with the new power" (1935:30).

175 The version of history provided by my informants is
186 no radical departure from these facts. But there are a few
124 differing aspects which represent ethnocentric highlights on
(648) history. For instance, the Bedouins of al-Qasr have a few stories which exaggerate the fact that the Harabi needed the cooperation of the Turkish rulers to defeat the Awlad 'Ali and to force them out of Cyrenaica. Also, the Bedouins point out, the Jumi'at tribe begged the Awlad 'Ali to come and rescue them from the oppression of the Hanadi.

175 Shortly after 1800, Muhammad 'Ali, the Ottoman
619 viceroy, drove the French from Egypt and supported the Hanadi
648 against the Awlad 'Ali. The Egytian ruler felt that political control over the Awlad 'Ali would insure the security of the whole desert, and especially Egypt's western frontier with Libya. Despite the alliance between the Hanadi and Muhammed 'Ali's forces, the outcome was a temporary victory for the Awlad 'Ali. This event actually set the stage for a transformation of Bedouin tribal society.

175 After the defeat of the Hanadi and the Pasha's troops,
648 the Awlad 'Ali were given preferential treatment by Muhammed 'Ali. He wisely secured the Hanadi tribe in Sharqiyya Province. Then he granted the Awlad 'Ali, by right of usufruct, the

175 territory of the whole Western Desert. They were also
648 exempted from land taxes, military duty, and forced labor on
[651] the irrigation projects of the Nile River. In return for these privileges, the Bedouins were expected to guard the frontiers of Egypt and to furnish warriors for the expeditionary forces of Muhammed 'Ali. The Pasha, who was in the process of carving out his own empire independent of the Ottomans, needed warriors, a role which traditionally excluded the fallahin of the Nile Valley. Bedouin horsemen from the Western Desert fought with Muhammad 'Ali in his Wahhabi campaign of 1815 in Arabia. They also aided the Pasha's son, Ismail, in the conquest of the Sudan.

Muhammad 'Ali instituted the practice of granting to the Bedouin leaders land in the rich Nile Valley. He made it explicit that the leaders were to dwell upon this land: their role, as it was officially stated, was to provide a liaison between the Pasha and the tribes. In fact, the leaders were hostages. By controlling them, Muhammad 'Ali was able to exert proper pressure on the Bedouins when and where it was needed (Baer 1957:84-98).

175 Bedouins did not pay land taxes, but neither did they
648 "own" the land; they simply had the right of usufruct. The
651 law stated that only those who paid land taxes had the right
423 to purchase and own their land. But along with ownership of land came the onerous responsibilities of corvée labor on the

175 Nile dikes and military conscription. The term "Bedouin"
648 came to mean, as it was defined by the government of Egypt,
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423 one who did not legally own land and hence was not subject to forced labor or military service. On this basis, the Director
[162] of Recruiting Office in a 1904 census distinguished three kinds of Bedouin (Murray 1935:31):

290,095	- settled and living in their own farm colonies
240,880	- living among the fallahin
70,472	- real Bedouin or nomads
601,447	

175 By the end of the 19th century, Bedouin society had
177 undergone a great deal of change. Politically, the Bedouins
648 were subordinates in a dominant-subjective authority relationship with the central regime of the Nile Valley. As a result of external political control, nomadism was curtailed and the Bedouins were forced to settle on the land to raise what few crops they could. These new political and economic conditions are the major aspects of the sedentarization process. Bedouin dependence on the central authority of Egypt and their reliance on horticulture increased with time. Nor did the entry of Britain into Egypt in 1882 change the material and social condition of the Bedouin.

175 The British, in the style of the politics of colonial-
648 ism, reorganized the administrative structure of Egypt. The Western Desert was given the status of a province; command

175 posts were established there, and Marsa Matruh became the
648 capital town. The Western Desert was administered by British officers who had under their command a garrison of Egyptian soldiers. Their assignment was to secure the colonial borders. This task included keeping the Awlad 'Ali within the boundaries of Egypt. The policy of the British provincial government was to avoid interfering with the Bedouin process of law and conflict regulation unless it threatened the peace and security
[124] of the desert. My informants said that the British interfered with Bedouin justice only under the threat of large-scale tribal warfare.

175 The political relationship which the Bedouins of the
795 Awlad 'Ali tribe had with the Sanusi Order of Islam in Libya
[619] was historically not so important compared to that of the other Cyrenaican tribes. The Sanusi Order, classified as a Sufi _tariiqa_ ("mystic order"), was actually quite orthodox in its attitudes and practices. This is a function of the socio-religious conditions of its origin during the 18th-19th century revival of orthodoxy in Islamic Arabia (Gibb 1955:
[793] 127-145). Muhammad bin 'Ali al-Sanusi founded his order, al-Sanusiyya, near Mecca around the year 1837. The Sanusi doctrine may be considered orthodox, or secularly oriented, in that it rejects the fundamental goal of Sufism, mystical union with God.

The Sanusi Order, from the very beginning, strove for a return to pure Islam. It made its greatest headway among

175 795 [798] [793] [346] the Bedouins of the Hijaz area. This Sanusi success aroused the jealousy and animosities of the orthodox 'ulama ("clergy") of the Mecca area. Al-Sanusi was forced to flee the Arabian peninsula, and in 1843 he founded his first zawiya ("lodge"), al-zawiya al-baida, in Cyrenaica. The Sanusi doctrine was as acceptable to the Bedouins of Cyrenaica as it had been to the tribes of the Hijaz. The person and teachings of al-Sanusi al-kabir ("the grand Sanusi"), as he came to be known, fit into the "holy man" religious tradition of Cyrenaica and even spread beyond into the Sudan and Lake Chad area. The Order showed primary concern for the people of the desert: the Sanusi shaikh ("holy man") cared for the poor, and the zawiya became rest stops, storehouses, and religious centers where Bedouin children were taught their Quranic lessons. Through the zawiya, the Sanusiyya became a political and economic integrating factor in the desert, and al-Sanusi became the legitimate authority of the Bedouins. The zawiya became a very important part of the traditional desert economic system. Today one zawiya remains near al-Qasr but it is scarcely used. The Bedouins say: "Before, when Alexandria was far away by camel, we could get what we wanted at the zawiya. Now that we have trucks and trains no one goes to the zawiya."

[793] [346] [485] [794] 175 795 346 182 [793]

175 795 648 The fortunes of the Bedouin became linked with those of the Order. When the Sanusi became involved in full-scale conflict with the Italian colonial power, the Bedouins bore

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the brunt of the war. With Bedouin warriors, the Sanusiyya religious order became a political force for the Italians to reckon with.

From 1911 until the start of the world war in 1914, the Sanusi Bedouin army fought the Italians in the desert and harrassed them in the coastal area. In November, 1914, the Turks entered the war on the side of the Germans, and in May, 1915, Italy joined the Allies. As a result of the declaration of alliances and the expansion of the war, the Sanusi army was sent into Egypt against the British. This move brought the Awlad 'Ali into contact with the Sanusi army. Before this, they had had little involvement in the war. This relative inactivity of the Awlad 'Ali can hardly be explained by the notion that they were "an unwarlike peoples," as Evans-Pritchard (1954:127) has characterized them. The Awlad 'Ali were not in the mainstream of Sanusi war activities in Libya. Also, the British exerted a great deal of control over them in contrast to that which the Italians were able to gain over the Cyrenaican Bedouin.

In 1915, the Sanusi army captured the British Libyan outpost at Sallum, and in January of 1916 they were threatening the town of Marsa Matruh. But within a month's time, by the end of February 1916, the British had routed the Sanusi army, and the following month had retaken Sallum.

During the Marsa Matruh campaign, some of the 'Aishai-

175 795 648 bat from al-Qasr joined the Sanusi army. The importance of their contribution to the Sanusi effort is vague, even though most of my informants claimed that their fathers "fought the British." Some of the al-Qasr activity was on a part-time basis. One informant, whose father was the paramount leader [124] of the 'Aishaibat tribe in 1916, told me that his father "used to take his rifle and ride out every morning to join the troops of Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif (the grandson of al-Sanusi al-kabiir), and there he would kill many British soldiers. Then he would come home again at night." There was at least one group of al-Qasr Bedouins who joined the Sanusi in Libya before the start of the war. After the end of the fighting, this group returned to Egypt and asked to be pardoned by the British. They appealed to the Governor of Marsa Matruh that there should be no reprisals taken against them since the Turks had actually forced them to fight for the Sanusi. The British Governor, who was fluent in the Bedouin dialect and considered a great man by the Bedouins, replied to them in the form of a famous Bedouin proverb: "The ropes can be stretched far enough for forgiveness."

175 177 554 631 648 Traditionally, the Bedouins of the Marsa Matruh area were held in check by an officially created political structure which dated from the time of Muhammad 'Ali. This structure depended upon two political roles for the control of the Awlad 'Ali, the 'umda and the shaikh, neither of which had previously existed in the Bedouin authority system.

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Historically, the modern aspect of role differentiation and political specialization began with the appointment of Mitkhatri 'Adam at Sidi Barrani, west of Marsa Matruh. This was under Muhammad 'Ali Pasha. The new role was that of 'umda, the same term used for the village leader in the Valley of the Nile. The first Bedouin 'umda died in 1909. At this time, under the British, another political role was instituted. This new role, that of shaikh, was a kind of vice-'umda position. The son of the first shaikh is now about 80 years old [115] and still lives in Marsa Matruh. (He was my chief informant for Bedouin history.) During this early period, there were few government officials in the desert, and, according to my informant, "there was need for only a few 'umdas and shaikhs. But later there was a need for more and more. The job of these men in those times was to work for the Egyptians in their dealings with the Bedouins of the desert." The number of incumbents in the offices of 'umda and shaikh increased as the political needs of the British grew.

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According to the Bedouins, the British administration did not arrive in the desert until about 1914. Up until that time, matters were in the hands of the Egyptians who governed the desert province for the colonial government. When the British arrived in Marsa Matruh, the opening of World War I was at hand. The Bedouins say, quite proudly, that the British knew of their sympathy for, and cooperation with, the Sanusi against the Italians in Cyrenaica.

175 648 554 631 Sanusi against the Italians in Cyrenaica. "When the British reached Matruh, they jailed all of the 'umdas and shaikhs (two 'umdas and five shaikhs, at that time). Then they chose new leaders, from the families of the old leaders, to work with them." But, "these men did not fight with the British, they only acted as their guides in dealing with the Bedouins of the desert. When the old leaders were released from jail, they returned to their positions of political office. While they were in jail, their replacements had only helped the [178] British with supplies." Apparently, the British saw the need of maintaining the continuity of the Bedouin authority structure.

175 648 Data on the condition of the Bedouins of the Western Desert between the two world wars are absent. The Bedouins say that they lived with no trouble, or any help, from the Egyptians. The Bedouins have no fond memories of their experiences during World War II. They first heard of the war in 1940 when the Italians marched into Western Desert from Libya. The Germans occupied al-Qasr from May to October of 1942, when the famous General Rommel had his headquarters at Marsa Matruh. The British had told the Bedouins, in 1940, that they should flee the Italians, and that unless they did they would be held responsible for their actions. Most of the 175 648 people of al-Qasr agreed to go to refugee camps at Amriyya 722 near Alexandria for the duration of the war.

166 [556] Some of the Bedouins refused to leave for Amriyya.

175 These were the wealthy group who had large numbers of sheep
648 and camels. In fact, most of the animals taken east to
722 Amriyya died on the way or were expropriated by the British.
556 166 'Umran Kailani, "who owned one thousand camels" and was the
shaikh of the 'Ali Ahmar section of the Awlad 'Ali at the time, refused to go to Amriyya. The Bedouins say that he was treated very well by the Germans who asked him to form a local government and promised him all the help and supplies that he needed. It is difficult to obtain figures on how many Bedouins made the migration to the Nile Valley and how many remained
[162] behind in the Al-Qasr area. One informant told me that before the war there were about 80,000 members of the Awlad 'Ali in the Western Desert and that out of this number, about 30,000 remained behind.

175 Those who sought refuge at Amriyya returned to the
648 al-Qasr area at the end of 1942 after the defeat of the Germans
727 at al-Alamain. They found things greatly changed. Before the war, there had been about twenty buildings in the al-Qasr area and most of these were bombed out by the air war. The loss of animals and the damage to the land made the resumption of normal life quite difficult for the Bedouins. Underneath, the land was literally a bed of anti-tank and anti-personnel mines left by the advance and retreat of three different armies. This restricted Bedouin travel and everyday food-
648 getting activities. This condition, which still exists, has
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History of Settlement in al-Qasr

173 The settlement of al-Qasr took place about 200 years
[166] ago when the Awlad 'Ali first came to the area from Cyrenaica.
• [175] No historical documentation for this period exists. The
173 various versions which the Bedouins offer are both vague and
* 613 ethnocentric with reference to lineage. A point of consensus
[712] is that the zone was first claimed by Abu Mahjuba who built a large fort (qasr = "fort" or "castle") near the coast. The Bedouins say that Abu Mahjuba settled in the area of al-Qasr because "he knew good land when he saw it." He belonged to no one lineage, "he was 'Aishaibi only." All of the lineages of al-Qasr claim that their ancestors came with Abu Mahjuba and settled on the land at that time. Abu Mahjuba has been mythologized: he belongs to all of al-Qasr, a symbol of local group solidarity and fraternal equality.

173 Al-Qasr represents the end of nomadic life for the
361 'Aishaibat tribe. According to the Bedouins, each tribe and
[198] lineage took that part of al-Qasr which it preferred. If the members of the segment wanted to grow vegetables, they took land on the coast; if they preferred the "old way of life," they set up their tents in the sha'ir wi mar'a area and raised sheep. "Everything was fine," they say, "there were no land registration laws--a man was free." Al-Qasr was settled
[619] "after the wars" (with the Hanadi), and it was only then that the Awlad 'Ali broke up into tribes. The 'Aishaibat took the

361 1925 and 1930 because, as they point out, the British
648 administration provided employment for "the poor Bedouin."
361 The wealthier Bedouins who owned camels and large numbers of
556 sheep remained in the desert. Just the reverse is happening
178 at the present time. The rich men who see the advantages in business, and the comforts which Matruh offers, can also afford the change of residence or the maintenance of two residences.

•175 In 1922, the Egyptian government first registered land
423 in al-Qasr. At this time, they sanctioned the tribal division
657 of territory which existed. There was no attempt to force political integration upon the Bedouins. Egypt has never had a nomad problem as have other Middle Eastern countries. The history of Egypt is essentially the history of the Nile Valley. Consequently, it is not odd that we find no mention of the Awlad 'Ali in the historical record. The Bedouins of the Western Desert were resigned to their place in the desert, and the central government saw no particular advantage or disadvantage in this.

423 Concern for the Bedouin minority in Egypt emerged only
648 with nationalistic programs of modernization. In 1954, the Fourth United Nations Social Welfare Seminar for Arab States in the Middle East convened in Baghdad. From this meeting came some general recommendations for dealing with the problems of the Bedouin. The major proposal was calculated to transform

619 675 and the Marabit.

The Qit'an tribe, based partly in Libya and partly * [613] in Egypt, is a tribe in the same sense that the Awlad 'Ali is one, i.e., at the secondary level of the lineage system. [166] This tribe moved into Egypt sometime around 1900. The • [175] Bedouins of al-Qasr estimate that "50% of the Qit'an are with Ali Ahmar, 30% with Sinaina, and 20% with Ali Abyad." 619 In 1956, certain events occurred in Libya which brought about 675 a declaration of independence from Sa'adi domination by the 578 Qit'an in that country. The Qit'an felt that their numbers were sufficiently large enough that they should represent themselves in the Libyan parliament. In other words, the Marabtiin were no longer willing to settle for the traditional social categories and role structures allotted to them. After these events in Libya, some members of the Qit'an came to Egypt and informed their brothers about the formation of the tribe as a separate entity, and convinced the Egyptian Qit'an to do the same--which they did.

The Bedouins say that the Governor of Marsa Matruh encouraged the Qit'an tribe to increase their numbers in the area after he learned of their desire to be free from Sa'adi domination. There had been a small number of Qit'an in the town of Marsa Matruh. This number quickly grew in size and political strength so that it could challenge the power of the 'Ali Ahmar who are considered the dominant tribe in this

671 change in al-Qasr must proceed.

671 177 Bedouin law should be considered within its historical context, especially as it has reference to the Maliki school of Islamic Law. The Maliki school, or "rite," (madhhab) of law is considered to be the most conservative interpretation of the doctrine of the Prophet Muhammad. Therefore, the Maliki school is thought to reflect the society and tribal traditions of pre-Islamic Arabia more dependably than any of the other three schools of law. For instance, the Maliki 671 177 428 school, in the domain of family law, stresses the importance and the primacy of agnate rights and claims. This is especially so in matters of inheritance: the law states that in the absence of agnate heirs the property of the deceased passes, not to female survivors but, to the central treasury [562] of the State. This single legal aspect helps us to understand the Bedouin practice of disallowing the female to inherit and should be a consideration in any study of Bedouin succession rules.

175 671 177 Maliki Law was introduced into North Africa during the ninth century, and became the official legal doctrine of the Berber dynasties. It was first taught in this part of the world, probably, by Yahya ibn Yahya, a student of Malik ibn Anas, the founder of the school. Murray (1935:313) presents a valuable legal document from the Western Desert in which the name "Yahya" is frequently cited as the authority

175 671 177 for legal interpretation. For instance: "We are also told by Yahya that (the Caliph) Mu'awiya ibn Sufian said that a wound on the body should be assessed at half the value of 671 177 that wound on the head or face" (1935:324). Maliki law, derived in large part from the Bedouin traditions of Arabia, may be seen to characterize the legal norms of the tribal-based social structure in the Western Desert. The Bedouins of al-[428] Qasr themselves claim that they are within the bounds of [562] Islamic Law when they deny the female the right to inherit, though they do have other, and more secular, justifications for the practice.

671 182 648 As we have already noted, in the above quote from the "holy man" of al-Qasr, the Bedouins feel that the 'awaiyid can succeed where governmental law will fail. They say that "the government does not understand the problems of the Bedouins," that "government troops cannot function in the desert." They feel that they need the 'awaiyid for the sake of political order itself: "If the Bedouins did not have the 'awaiyid, they would eat each other. The 'awaiyid is so important that a man who commits a wrong in town will lie to the government, and then dutifully return to the tribe for Bedouin justice."

[656] In 1933, the government "abolished" the 'awaiyid and insisted that the Bedouins settle their difference in the civil courts in accord with Egyptian law. According to

619 173 Until two centuries ago Awlad Ali lived in eastern Cyrenaica. After the death of Aqqar, his two sons, Ali (founder of Awlad Ali) and Harb (founder of Harabi tribe on chart), competed for the leadership of the tribe. This competition involved their respective tribes in a bitter war which existed for more than fifty years. In one of the major battles between the two tribal segments, the Harabi segment with help from the Caramanli rules of Tripoli were able to defeat Awlad Ali and to drive them eastward across the Libyan-Egyptian borders into the Egyptian Western Desert. This happened about 150 years ago. At that time, the area was occupied by the Hanadi, a warlike cousin of Awlad Ali, who had established a system of dominance over the Murabiteen tribes who are believed to be the original inhabitants of the desert. The area also was inhabited by the Gemeiat tribe, which, although believed to have Murabiteen status, yet were not treated as clients of the powerful Hanadi, as were the other Murabiteen tribes in the area. With the help from the Murabiteen, Awlad Ali were able to defeat the Hanadi and to drive them eastward into the Nile Delta, where they settle now as cultivators.

619 175 648 During the rule of Muhammad Ali (1815-1848), the warlike Awlad Ali were frequently used by the government to subdue the tribal uprisings in the Delta and other parts of Egypt, and to hold the Mamlukes in check. There was no organized army in Egypt at that time except for a few remnants of the Turkish soldiers. The tribal population of Awlad Ali agreed to supply Muhammad Ali with fighting men on the condition that they would be provided with food and arms and also exempted

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[619 073] connection to Gemeiat and insist that they are a Murabiteen tribe who acquired their relatively higher status through their assistance to Awlad Ali during their fight with the Harabi.

619 from forced labor in government projects and released from the pay-
175 ment of taxes. The government agreed to these demands, and on their
648 part, Awlad Ali helped Muhammad Ali extensively in his military expedition in Syria and Arabia and were a major factor in the battle of 1815 at Bissel where he succeeded in breaking Wahabi power. They also helped his son, Ismeal, in his expedition to the Sudan.

[701] Later, when the Egyptian army was organized, the government exempted Awlad Ali and other tribal groups which helped in the military conquests from military service, but required them to undertake the guarding of the desert roads and the frontiers of Egypt. Also, in [423] exchange for their previous services, they were given the right to use the land of the Western Desert and left the question of its distribution among the various tribal segments to the native tribal leaders.

619 Finally, in 1832, Awlad Ali were granted a form of legal and political
175 autonomy whereby the government acknowledged the tribal legal and
648 judicial system as the means to settle disputes between members of the
642 tribe. The government also recognized the authority of the native tribal leaders and allowed the tribal populations to be governed by their own native system of leadership.

This political autonomy of Awlad Ali existed until 1947. Although their usefulness to the government had long ceased to exist, they had continued to enjoy the privileges they had obtained earlier. This was partly due to the fact that the various governments that came after Muhammad Ali showed no interest in the area occupied by Awlad Ali. There were no taxable lands in the area, no natural resources of any promise, and the tribal population did not present any particular prob-
000 lem to attract the attention of the government. There was some smuggling

His main function is to manage the affairs of the village, apprehend crininals, report and register births and deaths, collect taxes and represent the government in all matters involving the relationship between the government and his village. Because of his position as the representative of the govrernment, he usually enjoys a considerable amount of power which, over the years, many omdas have used it to obtain personal benefits.

In 1958 the committee appointed for the examination of the possibility of applying the system to Awlad Ali noticed that villages in the sense of a compact settlement similar to that existing in the rural area simply do not exist in the Western Desert region. There are a few settled communities in the area but they are scattered homes or a few stores. These communities have no identifiable boundaries or administrative existence. The area as a whole is divided into ten administrative districts, each having a police station. These districts correspond to the old Senusia Zawyas which played an important role in maintaining order in the era until the First World War. Until that time the area was divided into fourteen zones each of which was under the jurisdiction of one of the zawyas. The zawyas were mainly religious centers, or shrines, inhabited and directed by a member of the Senusi order of Cyrenaica. The role of the head of the zawya was to teach the Qoraan and spread the teachings of the Senusi order. One of the ways the zawyas attracted followers was through distribution of food and clothing to those who joined it. The zawyas also provided places of refuge for those who needed protection since no one could force his way into the sacred zawyas. Because of their religious position which put

795 Because of their religious position which put
175 them outside the tribal structure, the leaders of the zawyas played a
627 significant role in mediation and settling disputes between various tri-
793 bal segments. At their disposal was their ability to ostracize anyone
[626] who did not abide by their decision from the zawyas, which meant depriv-
ing him from all the benefits, social as well as religious, that member-
ship in the zawyas offered.

795 After the First World War when the British replaced the Turks as
175 governors of the area, the zawyas were closed and the religious leaders
179 ordered to leave. The zoning established by the zawyas existed, however,
[648] and was used as the basis for the redistricting of the area. Police
[631] stations replaced the religious centers. From the standpoint of the tri-
[625] bal population itself, the districts have no psychological or political
619 reality. The zawyas were originally established in the areas of tribal
634 concentrations. But the area itself did not have any political identity.
[795] The only reality from the standpoint of the inhabitants was the tribal
[361] reality and affiliation which cut across many of these districts. Many
of the tribal segments inhabiting one district were and still are hostile
177 to one another. To transform the zones into administrative districts and
634 to establish one office of leadership for the whole district was to im-
619 pose a political unity nonexistent among the tribal segments inhabiting
[622] the district. To avoid this difficulty, the government supplemented the
territorial principle of the omda system in the rural area with the prin-
ciple of tribal representation and came up with a system which seems to
suite the situation in the Western Desert. For each of the districts,
a list of all tribal segments which habitually occupy the area and whose
tribal land is located within the district, is made. The most powerful

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[For information on the cultural history of the Sanusí Order, see Category 116, pp. 2, 11-23, 26-28, 39, 41-43, 48-50, 66, 70-71, 73-76, and 90-229.]

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

Europeans consider to be a low level of civilization. They do not feel the need for expensive roads and ports, electric light, wireless sets, telephones, schools, churches, newspapers, and so forth; and clearly their economy could not support them. Time and again colonists, tempted from their homes by the short sea routes and the wooded plateau, have settled in the country and dispossessed the Bedouin, but in the end it is the Bedouin, and not the colonists, who have survived. When one looks at the massive Phoenician, Greek, Egyptian, and Roman ruins and the already half-ruined Italian towns, villages, and farms, and then on the flimsy tents of the Arabs, one cannot but reflect that the race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong.

III

Even in the steppe country it is difficult to find a Bedouin *naja'*, camp, for the camps are pitched in hollows and on the slopes of wadis and their feeders for shelter from rain and wind and too many visitors. On the plateau they are hidden in the forest. One cannot, therefore, make more than a very approximate estimate of the population of any part of the country, or of its distribution, by bare observation. It can, however, be said that at present the country is underpopulated and that the population is badly distributed between town and country, the urban part of it, which is almost entirely unproductive, being too large in relation to the whole.

There have been a number of estimates of the population by early travellers who visited the country in Turkish times. They had to make a guess at the population figure, aided by Turkish censuses. It has been suggested on the basis of their reports that the country then supported round about 250,000 souls.[1] The Turkish census of 1911 gave the population as 198,345, excluding Kufra.[2] Taking into account the various estimates which were made during the Italo-Sanusi wars, in the interval between them, and since, it may be said that to-day the total population of Cyrenaica is probably round about 200,000, of whom about a quarter live in the towns, the remainder being tented Bedouin and a few thousand oasis dwellers.

[1] Dr. Gotthold Hildebrandt, *Cyrenaika als Gebiet künftiger Besiedelung*, 1904, p. 317.

[2] Coro, op. cit., p. 20.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

of the more independent client tribes. In other words, all the Bedouin of Cyrenaica are nomadic in some degree, some more and some less, and Col. De Agostini rightly stresses that whether they move much or little they all have the same characteristics when compared to peasants and townsmen.[1] They are all *bwadi*, as the Cyrenaican dialect has it, people of the tents, and they see themselves as a single people against the *hadur*, the citizens.

I have so far said nothing of the towns of Cyrenaica or of their inhabitants. They play a minor part in this story, which is about the Bedouin, but they cannot be entirely left out of it on account of their economic and political relations with the Bedouin, so I take this opportunity to give a brief account of them.[2]

Banghazi, which is supposed to be called after the saint Sidi Ghazi, buried in the town, is on the site of the classical Berenice. It is believed that after the disappearance of the Graeco-Roman community the site was unoccupied till the fifteenth century, when it was reoccupied by immigrants from the mercantile communities of the Tripolitanian coast, among whom Misuratans, both Muslims and Jews, preponderated in numbers and wealth. The Genoese Della Cella, who passed through the fly-infested town in 1817–18, in the time of the Caramanlis, says that it then contained about 5,000 inhabitants, at least half of whom were Jews.[3] Shaikh Muhammad 'Uthman al-Hashaishi, who was in the town in 1896, says that the greater part of the traders were immigrants from Sfax and the Island of Jerba—he was himself a Tunisian and often tended to exaggerate Tunisian influence—with some Greeks and a few Italians. 'As to the Turks, they do not give themselves to trade.' At this time Banghazi was a very simple, mostly mud-and-rubble, town, and the learned Shaikh makes a point of telling us that there were no posts or telegraphs, nor even a railway, save a line of three kilometres joining the official

[1] Ibid., pp. 32–3.

[2] The historical information is chiefly derived from Agostini, ibid., pp. 413–43.

[3] Paolo Della Cella, *Narrative of an Expedition from Tripoli in Barbary to the Western Frontier of Egypt in 1817*, 1822, pp. 194–5. (First published in 1819.) F. W. and H. W. Beechey (*Proceedings of the Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa from Tripoly Eastward in 1821 and 1822*, 1828, p. 299) consider Della Cella's estimate too high. Theirs is 2,000.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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175 632 residence of the Pasha to a garden; and that the town possessed only one machine for grinding corn.[1] The population increased considerably in the last decades of Turkish rule, reaching the 175 figure of 16,500 in 1911.[2] In 1922 the population was 22,740, 162 632 the great majority of whom were Arabs from the Maghrib, though some were immigrants into the town from the more sedentary Bedouin of the neighbourhood. It included also over 2,000 *qulaughla*, descendants of Turkish officials and troops and Arab women, and a large number of *shawashna*, descendants of Arab men and Negresses, with a sprinkling of *'abid*, full-blooded Negroes. There were also about 3,000 Jews and about 3,600 Europeans, almost all Italians. These elements, except for the Italians who left during the late war, are found in all the towns of Cyrenaica. There are also a few Cretans, the remnant of a small community exiled by the Italians.

Darna stands on the site of the Greek town of Darnis, from which the Arab name is presumably derived. It seems that it continued to be occupied throughout the Arab period, but was given new life through the settlement there of Muslim refugees from Spain at the end of the fifteenth century. According to tradition, towards the end of the seventeenth century the town was developed by a certain Muhammad Bey who organized irrigation and other public works there. The population was much increased by the settlement of merchants from the coastal towns of Tripolitania and of other countries of the Maghrib, either by direct migration or from Banghazi. When Della Cella [731] visited the town in 1816 the population had been reduced by pestilence from 7,000 to 500.[3] In 1911 it was about 9,500[4] and in 1922 it was about 9,700 (not counting Italians) of whom 250 were Jews and the rest Muslims.

Al-Marj, the Italian Barce, was the site of the ancient city of Barke, famous in Greek times and to Arab historians of the first centuries after the Arab conquest of Cyrenaica. It fell into decay after the Hilalian invasion and was only a heap of ruins till 1842, when the Turkish administration built a fort there, a Sanusiya zawiya being constructed shortly afterwards. In 1922 the population, of very mixed origins, was 1,540. The other 175 632 centres in Cyrenaica are no more than villages around admini-

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 52 and 59.
[2] Coro, op. cit., p. 99.
[3] Op. cit., p. 177.
[4] Coro, op. cit., p. 102.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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strative posts and contain not more than a few hundred persons. Shahhat and Tubruq had been Turkish posts before the Italians made them administrative centres. Taukra and Talmaitha had been Sanusiya lodges. Suluq and Qaminis were Italian creations. Marsa Susa (Apollonia) was first occupied by Cretan refugees during the Turco-Greek war of 1897. Ajadabiya, the town of which the Arab historian al-Bakri of the eleventh century spoke in such glowing terms, had ceased to be a settled centre until the Turks made it an administrative post. During the period of truce between the Sanusi and the Italians from 1917 to 1922 it became the seat of the Sanusi Amir, Sayyid Mahammad Idris, and afterwards an Italian administrative and commercial centre.

It has been noted that almost all the townsmen of Cyrenaica are immigrants from the west, from Morocco to Tripolitania, and the Bedouin regard them as foreigners and often with some distaste, especially the Tripolitanian immigrants. It is true that there is a small element of Bedouin origin in the towns, for the more stable and poorer Bedouin living near towns sometimes drift into them; but when they do so their descendants soon lose their links with the tents and their tribal status. The road to town life is a way along which there is no return, for the townsmen are not only foreigners, but their food, their speech, their dress, their manners, their interests, their loyalties, and in general their way of life and their sentiments, are different. The Bedouin visit the towns from time to time, but they do not feel at home in them, and they do not look at home in them either. In a town one can spot a Bedouin at a glance by his appearance, his step, his dignity, his naivety, and his loud voice, which sometimes startles the shopkeeper with whom he disputes a price.

The road to the towns is not only a way along which there is no return, but is a one-way track. A Bedouin can become a citizen, but a citizen can never become a Bedouin. He cannot live the life of the tents. Hence the Bedouin say that while it is always bad for a Bedouin girl to marry a townsman, it is possible for her to adapt herself to urban life, but it is out of the question for a Bedouin to marry a townsman's daughter, for it is impossible for her to become a daughter of the tents.

The *bwadi*, Bedouin, and the *hadur*, citizens, are separate

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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nation, was common hostility to outside interference, an ingredient supplied in measured quantities by the Turks and copiously by the Italians.

III

The rudiments of Islam which the Grand Sanusi found in Cyrenaica made his teachings acceptable, delivered as they were without embellishments, to the Bedouin of the country, and the Marabout tradition which he also found there made him personally acceptable to them. His chief difficulty must have been the rivalries between tribe and tribe and between tribal section and tribal section down to the smallest sections. This difficulty was overcome by transferring the centre of the Order to desert oases, where it could not become identified with any particular tribe, and by distributing its lodges impartially throughout the tribal territories.

Of the forty-five zawiyas belonging to the tribes of Cyrenaica proper (including al-Naufiliya and excluding the Kufra lodges) probably twenty-one were founded before 1860 or during the lifetime of the Grand Sanusi, twenty-two during the lifetime of Sayyid al-Mahdi, and two when Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif was Head of the Order.

A high proportion of the lodges of the Order in the time of the Grand Sanusi were along the line of oases on the 29th parallel, for to the lodges of the Cyrenaican oases on that line must be added those in the oases of the Sirtica, Zalla, Saukna, Hun, and Waddan, all founded round about 1855, and probably that in al-Fuqha also. Lodges were early planted in the oases partly on account of their importance as caravanserai and trading centres, partly because the oases-folk were more tractable than the Bedouin, and partly because the stability of these centres gave greater opportunity for corporate religious life. The Sanusiya certainly made a deeper religious impression on the peoples of the oases than on the Bedouin.

It will have been noticed also how few of the Sanusiya lodges were founded in the towns of North Africa. There are no lodges in the towns of Egypt and though the Order counts many followers in the towns of Cyrenaica and is politically dominant in them it has only one zawiya in each, Banghazi, Darna, and al-Marj; and that at Banghazi, the capital of the country, was

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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175 first caused misgivings in Rome and afterwards led to the
648 destruction of the Italian armies in North Africa and their
[167] ejection from the continent. A sullen Arab population in Cyrenaica and Tripolitania and a hostile Arab and Muslim world were, in view of the coming storm, so clearly contrary to Italian interests that a more conciliatory policy, at any rate in words, was adopted and Balbo was entrusted with the difficult task of putting it in effect against a background of slaughter and repression. Once again the Italians had waited too long.

III

The ups and downs of Italian fortunes in Cyrenaica and in the world are reflected in the various decrees which defined the juridical status of the Arabs. In giving a brief account of these decrees it must be kept in mind that whilst they referred to the whole Arab population they really affected only the Arabs of the towns, and even in the towns only those few persons, mostly officials, who actively collaborated with the Italians; and that till 1932 the Italians had no certain or complete control outside the towns.

175 At the beginning of the first Italo-Sanusi war the Arabs were
648 in law Turkish subjects. By a Royal Decree of 5 November
641 1911, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica were declared to be under the full sovereignty of the Kingdom of Italy. The status of the Cyrenaican Arabs was fixed by the Royal Decree of 6 April 1913, which declared all born in the country, wherever resident, to be *sudditi italiani*, provided they were not Italian citizens or foreign citizens or subjects. They retained their Muslim personal law, but were subject in other respects to whatever regulations the Italians saw fit to impose on them. They were permitted to hold posts in the armed forces and administration of the colony, and persons desirous of acquiring Italian citizenship might apply for it if they possessed residential qualifications, though by taking it they became subject to Italian personal law. These early decrees were more in the nature of administrative than constitutional law. A constitution, in the continental sense, was promulgated in 1919 after the Italians had signed a truce with the Sanusi.

The agreements entered into with the Sanusi between 1917

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

were concerned, there was little doubt who was leader—the name of the former was known throughout the land. Now when the warrior returned from his Egyptian exile, his rival offered him a sheep as a gift. This act was wholly appropriate. Subsequently they continued to compete fiercely, but it soon became clear that the returned warrior was winning the greater support. In the face of this, the rival, in 1948, decided to break with tradition by staying away from the annual pilgrimage to the tomb of the local saint. Instead, he and his followers made their pilgrimage to a different tomb in the vicinity of their camp, and later built a low wall round the tomb, whitewashed it, and made it known that henceforward they would regularly use it for pilgrimages. The two kinship groups of a tertiary section now had their separate saint's tomb. Some months later, the rival decided to move with his small group to an area in which they had not previously resided. It is the custom among the Bedouin when they pitch their tents in a place for the first time, that the people of the neighbourhood should bring them gifts to mark the event. The returned warrior, who had now become a close neighbour of his rival was obliged, like others, to offer the latter a gift; he was also obliged to return the gift of a sheep that he had been given on rejoining his section in 1947. He brought a gift within a few hours of his rival's arrival, but it was a goat.[14] The rival and his followers were furious, and the argument that the warrior was too poor to give more was dismissed summarily. This was the final insult. The donor, in return, had been given less than he had presented. The reciprocity of gift exchanges had not only been arrested, it had been reversed. From then onwards the two groups made no attempt to conceal their hostility and went their separate ways.

Disputes stemming from circumstances such as these are the occasions which mark the proliferation of groups, although in all three cases cited, difficulties over water supplies had preceded the outbreaks of quarrelling.

In this discussion of the ways in which proliferation of segments takes place, the emphasis had been put on the tug of war between the interests of people in their agnatic connexions and

[14] A goat is inferior to a sheep in gift exchanges.

5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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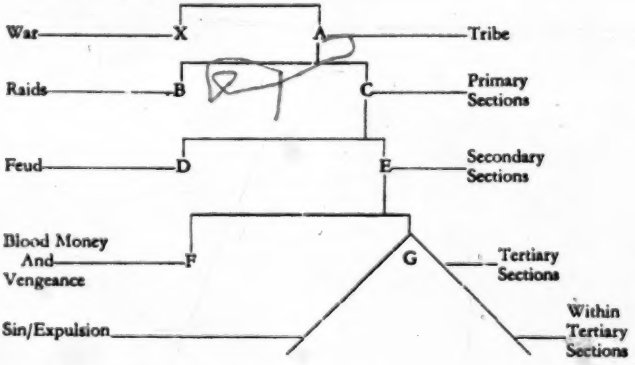
would have dropped in on the camp. In another situation, two men entered a shop in a market-place; inside sat two men of a feuding group who, instead of retreating hastily, greeted those who had just entered, and the latter returned the greeting with blows on the head from the butts of their rifles. Markets in Cyrenaica are recognized to be places of peace. In their actions the two offenders not only injured two others but also broke a taboo in a public place. The victim's group now had to avenge not only the injury but the insult that the breach of taboo carried with it, as well. In most feud relationships this is characteristic. It is never a matter of a simple homicide, but of killing a man at the entrance to his tent, between the centre poles of his tent, or taking the life of a minor, or an elder too old to carry arms and so on. Each successive killing ensures that the hostile relationships will be perpetuated.

The third step in this exposition, therefore, is the association of a state of feud with the secondary order of segmentation.

When the relationships between the structurally superior primary tribal sections are examined, the arguments against the necessity for peace are stronger than in the case of secondary sections. Relationships between them are few and irregular. Only occasionally do members of these groups meet, and then often accidentally; very many men of collateral primary sections are complete strangers one to the other. If a homicide occurs between two primary sections it is unlikely that any attempt to open negotiations will be made. The offender's camp may be raided by a *ghazi* recruited from the victim's kinsmen. There would be no question of these primary sections going to war. On a raid firearms may be used, but the action is limited to a strike-and-run affair. If the issue is joined and members of both sides are ranged against each other they fight with sticks to avoid large-scale slaughter: warfare must not be allowed within the tribe. Wars belong to intertribal relationships. For one of these wars, apart from hearsay evidence, some records exist. These tell of a war which took place during the period 1860 to 1865, in which there were planned campaigns, the organization of fighters into groups, and provisions for a labour force in the home territory, large enough to produce sufficient food to maintain an army in the field. During this war several hundred people were killed.

At this point, it is possible to summarize the stages in this exposition of the Bedouin view in diagrammatic form.



5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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sections constituting the combinations which makes the facts of feud intelligible. Furthermore, several different types of power structures exist which serve the different interests of the people composing them, and these are interlinked in combinations of superior span. But the formation of these structures and the modes in which they combine are quite unlike the articulations in a lineage system. Characteristically, the segments in a lineage system are conceived of as building up hierarchically to span what is spoken of as a total society, the apex of the system affording a spectacular and fixed definition of its boundaries. Had I been using this concept in this paper the founding ancestress of the nine Cyrenaican tribes, Sa'ada as named by the Bedouin, would have served this purpose and would have been given inappropriate prominence. The views presented here have the consequences of retreating from a concept of a total society. The people to whom the facts given are related are the camel-herding tribes only. Some of them have relations of many kinds with the cow-herding folk who inhabit the northern plateau area, and these relations are also significant for the analysis of a wide range of problems; genealogically both cow and camel herders are seen as part of a single structure, but the differences between them with regard to their economy, the size, composition, and distribution of their residential units, their political and ritual life is so great that to conceive of them as a single social structure is not useful. Moreover, the far western tribal sections have relationships of such urgency with their neighbours in Tripolitania (who are excluded from Cyrenaican genealogies) that to cut off these relationships as lying outside Cyrenaican society would be quite unwarranted. The same can be said of the relationships of the tribal sections in the eastern part of Cyrenaica with their genealogical cousins, the Aulad 'Ali of Egypt, who, although residing across a national border, are closely linked to some of the Cyrenaican Bedouin. Some tribes also have to rely on the people of the southern oases for an item of diet and an outlet for surplus wool, and the net of kinship is spread out to include them. In these cases they come into contact with other ethnic groups such as Berbers and Tibu, and through the oases they extend their lines of communication southwards to Wadai, Chad, and Bornu. As an indication of the effectiveness of these links, it is only necessary to add that people inhabiting Cyrenaica make periodic and regular visits to these far southern places, and that in 1948 a shaikh, living near Ajadabiya in south-western Cyrenaica, collected blood-money contributions from kinsmen in Wadai. A single structure cannot possibly include, for analytical purposes, these sorts of relationships.

Finally, it must be stressed that the facts given here refer to the period 1948 to 1950. Since then oil has been discovered in large quantities near the territory of a tribe where I spent most of my time while resident in the country, and where there was one tin shack in 1950 there is now a modern port with roads extending southwards from it into the wilderness. I see no reason to assume that social relations as I observed them are present today or that they were the same at any time in the past either. Before the advent of the Sanusi Order in the early eighteen-forties, it is known that one lineage at least was dominantly powerful and that its leader tyrannized a large part of Central Cyrenaica.[1] His descendants constituted a powerful group in

[1] Smith and Porcher, 1864. These two archaeologists met this leader and continued their archaeological researches around Cirene only with his goodwill, although the site is not on the territory of his tribe as I knew it in 1950. They also speak of him as inhabiting a castle which also lies outside the

5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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1950, but his kind of tyranny was absent from the Cyrenaica of that period. From the mid-nineteenth century until the Italian invasion of 1911, the Sanusi Order established itself, spread its lodges throughout the tribes and in other more remote lands until it became what Evans-Pritchard speaks of as a theocratic empire.[1] The lodges served as areas of sanctuary and their staffs adjudicated disputes. Leaders of the Order had the power to coerce and the Bedouin obeyed. They obeyed out of personal regard for some of them in 1950, but the religious authority previously used by the leaders had given way to the political power they now exercised as functionaries in a state system. In the meantime, the country had been ravaged by the long Italo-Sanusi wars. Throughout the nineteen-thirties after suffering terrible privations and reduction in numbers through slaughter in war, death in concentration camps, and exile, the Bedouin were ruled by the Italians. During the Second World War the armies of three major contestants fought their battles where the Bedouin now tend their flocks and herds. After the war they were left to fend for themselves, with a minimum of administrative interference.

In the light of all this the conception of an equilibrium system is of little heuristic value, still less its derivative concept of a repetitive system. This does not mean, however, that an account of part of the social life of the Bedouin as it existed in 1950 must be nothing more than a disconnected piece of history, unrelated to a prior state of things and wholly useless for the understanding of the contemporary oil-producing cum mixed pastoral–agricultural economy. It would be little more than a piece of social historiography if the analysis was based on the concept of a total social structure of functionally interconnected parts, forming what Leach describes as 'a delicately balanced mechanism rather like the various parts of a wrist watch'.[2] Such a viewpoint would effectively exclude any possible comprehension of changes save those present as part of the dynamics of a system; its only answer to change is an account of a different system. If, instead, attention is focused on the analysis of a field of components arranged in a specific fashion to meet the interests of men at a particular time, it then becomes possible to see how a shift in their positions, the addition of new components, or the elimination of others produces this or that effect. It can make intelligible what has gone before, and if the future cannot be anticipated it can be demarcated within rough limits.

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[1] Evans-Pritchard, 1949. In this book a brilliant account is given of the development of the Order, and how it came to unify and provide centralized political leadership for the tribes.

[2] Leach, 1961, p. 6.

9: Murray E.K-3,4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Egypt

000 fiction, but it is interesting to read that, even in Ibn Khaldun's day, these Tuareg were known as "The Veiled Ones".

• 175 The first Arab expedition to North Africa began in 643, two years after the conquest of Egypt, when 'Amr ibn el-'Asi invaded Cyrenaica and received the submission of the Luwata Berbers, whom he found in occupation of that country. Forty years later the conquerors had reached the Atlantic, but these early Moslem invaders mostly settled in the towns and left the open country to the Berbers. Their influence on the nomadic population was therefore trifling, and to-day need not be taken into account.

175 619 The eleventh century irruption from the east of the wild Bedouin tribes of Beni Hilal and Beni Suleim, who continued their nomadic existence after their conquest of the country, was one of the decisive factors in moulding the character of the present-day population; a religious upheaval among the Berbers of Senegal the other. The Beni Hilal have indeed disappeared, but to-day all the independent tribes of Western Egypt, the Sa'adi, claim descent from the Beni Suleim, while their vassals all have the same title, Murabitin, as the adherents of the religious movement referred to above. Some historical explanation now becomes necessary and, since the vassals probably represent the aboriginal population more closely, we will first consider the Murabitin.

In the early days of Islam, volunteers constantly thronged to all the fighting fronts where the faith was being spread by the sword among the heathen. These were nicknamed *El-Murabitin*, which meant "pickets", from the *ribat* or outposts (lit. "horse-lines") in which they lived.

But in the eleventh century a violent religious movement among the Messufa and Lamtuna sections of the Sanhaja Tuareg appropriated the name to its followers, just as eight hundred year later the fanatics of the Eastern Sudan were known as *the* Dervishes of their time. Both upheavals began with a prophet on an island, and both spread northwards with terrifying rapidity. Yet the *Murabitin* of the Senegal were far more successful than their rivals on the Nile, and their title reached the height of its fame when a line of their kings, whose name the Spaniards corrupted to "Almoravides", ruled over Andalusia till 1156.

Yet just as the original *Murabitin* were gaining their

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first successes in Senegal, the Beni Hilal and the Beni Suleim were being despatched by the Caliph Mustansir billah against Mu'izz ibn Badis, his rebellious viceroy in Tripoli. They sang of their conquest :

> " Great was the king, son of Badis, a mighty man of war !
> Yet we routed his thirty thousand men !
> We were but three thousand, yet the victory was ours, and ours the spoil !
> Their hearts were as water, not a man was in their ranks !
> We routed them and they fled far and wide ! "

These Beni Hilal, now extinct, are famous wherever Arabic is spoken for the exploits of their legendary hero Abu Zeid, while the Beni Suleim had helped the Prophet at the battle of Hunein, and are said by Hogarth to be the ancestors of the great modern tribe of Harb.[1]

The confusion of these two invasions caused the races of North Africa to become inextricably mixed. Both Arabs and Berbers spent their lives in the desert herding their flocks, and both were warlike. So it is natural that the intermarriages of a few generations should have made one people of them, and it is also natural that the conquered should claim relationship with the conquerors and not vice versa. But this aspiration of the Berbers has flooded their genealogies with so many lies that it is difficult to disentangle the truth.

The descendants of the original colonists, much mixed with Berber blood, still preserve their title of Murabitin, though no longer living in *ribat*, which soon lost their military character and were turned into *Zawia* " monasteries ", where the more peacefully inclined of the sect retired for religious teaching and contemplation. Later, when the *ribat* came to be deserted, the peaceful Murabitin, ill-fitted by their monastic habits for the resumption of an active nomadic life, sank into dependence on their warlike brethren the Sa'adi, and, among a primitive race, dependence means inferiority. Thus in Arabia any tribe that pays tribute to another is despised as Hiteim. And so the once proud title of " Murabitin " has simply come to mean " vassal " and nothing more.

[1] *History of Arabia*, 38.

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619 The independent Sa'adi tribes fall into four groups :

1. The Jawazi, Fawayid, and Rammah, all of common origin with the 'Awaqir of Cyrenaica.
2. The Harabi and Bar'asa, both of common origin with the 'Ibeidat of Cyrenaica.
3. The Hanadi, and
4. The Awlad 'Ali

[173] The original ancestor whom these Sa'adi all claim is one Abu Dib, said to be of Suleim descent.

• 175 554 619 This sheikh was a real personage and a contemporary of Ibn Khaldun (who died in A.D. 1406). He was sheikh of the Beni Ja'afir, and a man of great importance in Barka, the very place that the four tribes inhabited for centuries before they came to Egypt. Also the period of fifteen or sixteen generations, which the modern Bedouin assert to separate them from Abu Dib, agrees with this chronology well enough.[1]

619 [173] Some are found to assert that their title of Sa'adi " helping " is derived from an ancestress called Sa'ada, the wife of Abu Dib, or, according to a hostile account, of a Jew called Yana. But the real explanation of the term has already been given above.

619 651 At the present day a sort of feudal system prevails both in Egypt and Cyrenaica, by which families are *mrabit*,[2] or vassal families, not tribes to tribes ; thus the Qat'an tribe of Murabitin is divided, one part vassal to a family of Awlad 'Ali el-Ahmar, another to the Sinaqra, and a third to the Sinana. For a tribute called " alms ", which by hereditary obligation each Mrabit family must pay, the Sa'adi family to which it is attached is bound to afford the Mrabit family protection in all minor difficulties of life, such as robbery by another family of Sa'adi, etc.

Thus a " Mrabit " family by paying tribute can herd its flocks in peace, calling upon the Sa'adi to see that justice is done them, but they are bound to join the Sa'adi to fight with them in any serious conflict with other tribes.

Among the " Mrabit " tribes of the present day are the Jumei'at, Qat'an, and Awlad Suleiman, all claiming as common ancestor one Ka'b, and feudal relations are

[1] The pedigrees of which these Western Bedouin are so proud can only be trusted so far back as the individual whose name a subdivision has adopted, such as Kharûf in the Awlad Kharûf pedigree. Taking them separately, the pedigrees will be found to dovetail into each other up to that point, but beyond it things become problematical.

[2] Sing. of " Murabitin ".

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619 ancestress of the Awlad 'Ali and Hind of the Hanadi. (The
173 Hanadi call their ancestress Hind, the daughter of Sallam.) These obvious fabrications only mean that their conventional genealogy is not believed outside the tribe. But the Awlad 'Ali themselves all agree that 'Ali was the son of 'Aqar bin Dib.

• 175 They are now a composite tribe made up of the descendants
619 of 'Ali's three sons, and various fragments of broken tribes. The Awlad 'Ali lived for a long time in the "Green Mountain" of Cyrenaica, and about 150 years ago began to drift eastwards, called into Egypt by the Jumei'at to aid them against the Hanadi, who, with their subtribes, were then in possession not only of the north coast but were also settled all over the Beheira.

175 After the departure of the French in 1801, a firman was
619 addressed to the sheikhs of the Hanadi, Afrad (a division
648 of the Awlad 'Ali), Jumei'at, Beni 'Una, and other Arabs resident in Beheira, confirming them in their territories, but threatening them with expulsion and fine if they misbehaved themselves.[1]

By 1808, the Hanadi seem to have been quite driven out by the Awlad 'Ali, for in that year they bought their peace with Muhammad 'Ali and asked for the restitution of their lands in Beheira. The Pasha agreed to this and sent troops under Shahin Bey to chase the Awlad 'Ali out again. The Awlad 'Ali responded by offering 100,000 "tallaris" to be allowed to remain in the lands of the Hanadi—an offer which Muhammad 'Ali accepted. When they failed to pay up, troops were again sent to aid the Hanadi against them, but this combined force was completely defeated by the Awlad 'Ali near Hosh 'Isa.[2]

Of the events of 1810, Jabarti says :

> "During his stay at Alexandria, he (Muhammad Ali) gave safe conduct to the chiefs of the Bedouins of the tribe of Awlad Ali who lived in the province of Beheira, and by this ruse enticed them to him ; but hardly had they arrived than he had them arrested, claimed large sums from them, and sent his soldiers to carry off their cattle ; their wives and their children were dishonoured. He then gave them robes of honour."[3]

Finally he exiled the Hanadi to Sharqiya, then a desert, and gave the Awlad 'Ali their lands on the coast and in Beheira.

[1] Jabarti, vii, 78–80. [2] Jabarti, viii, 171 and 179–180. [3] Jabarti, viii, 300.

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Had the Senussi been successful in the last war, they would no doubt have brought in the 'Ibeidat or the 'Awaqir from Cyrenaica to replace the Awlad 'Ali in Egypt.

At the present day the Awlad 'Ali, especially the eastern sections near the Nile Valley, have almost ceased to be nomadic, and only the old men have memories of their former warlike habits. They suffered considerably during the Great War, but are again becoming prosperous. They now own large comfortable tents, are beginning to build houses and clear out cisterns, and are also said to be increasing in numbers.[1] So civilized have they grown that my guides, one a Sinai Arab and the other an 'Abadi, concurred in calling them "green"—not real desert-worthy Bedouins.

Perhaps as a result of Libyan influence, or more probably the better nurture and climate, they are taller, heavier, stronger, and lighter-complexioned than the lightly built Arabs of Sinai and Hijaz. Also they are much franker and more straightforward than their shifty and suspicious eastern cousins, and altogether more trustworthy. Their women only veil themselves to strangers, and talk quite naturally and cheerfully to the men of their own tribe.

They cultivate as much barley as they can, using a primitive plough drawn by camels, in the clayey hollows scattered over their very stony limestone desert, but, as the rainfall is very uncertain, a good crop only occurs every five or six years. After harvest, they exchange some of their barley for maize, which the women grind to make bread as required, and some for dried dates. The seed for next year is buried in a hole lined with straw and covered with clay, and a year's forage for the animals is set aside. The rest of the crop goes to market, and for a short time the Arab has money to buy clothes for himself and his family and at utmost need to pay off some of the numerous debts he has inherited from his forefathers. Soon he is reduced again to the clothes he wears, the tent he sleeps in, and his animals grazing in the desert.

They are great breeders of camels and sheep, and a busy traffic in these goes on weekly in the markets of Hammam, 'Amriya, and the Beheira. So they have got into the habit

[1] At the 1927 census, the Western Desert Arabs, Awlad 'Ali, Jawabis, etc., numbered 38,928 souls exclusive of those settled in Beheira. But Pacho, 100 years ago, estimated them at 38,000 souls.

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(SINAQRA)

The Sinaqra, or descendants of Sinqir, are also reckoned among the descendants of Ali the White, "because Sinqir married his daughter Khadija." They include:— 619 173

(4)	Afrad	Maghawra
(5)	Azayim	'Eilet el-Abdi, Muwamna
(6)	'Eilet Eleura	'Eilet Jeballa, 'Eilet Qmar, 'Eilet Harun, 'Eilet Ajarma, 'Eilet Tahir.

II.

The descendants of 'Ali bin 'Aqar's second son, 'Ali el-Ahmar ("The Red") are:—

(1)	'Esheibat	'Eilet ed-Dawi, 'Eilet el-Azraq, El-Wassafa, 'El-Lazumi
(2)	Kimeilat	'Eilet el-Hajj Muhammad, El-Maharsa, 'El-Khadayij
(3)	Jineishat [1]	'Eilet el-Majduba, Es-Samayil, Tabak

III. SINANA

The Sinana are the descendants of Sineina, the third son of Ali bin 'Aqar bin Dib. They include:—

(1)	Mahafid	'Eilet Etman, 'Eilet el-Hammama, 'Eilet esh-Shimla
(2)	Arawa	'Eilet ez-Zireiriya, 'Eilet el-Ghazulat
(3)	Qatifa	'Eilet Nasralla, 'Eilet-Omar, Esh-Shawalha.
(4)	Ijna	

Jawabis.—The nomadic Jawabis (sing. Jibusi) are for the most part still settled in and around the Wadi Natrun, where General Andreossy found them in Napoleon's time. He calls them: 619 175 [131]

> "A hospitable tribe who lead a shepherd's life and encamp there every winter with their flocks. They are employed during this time carrying Natrun and prickly reeds; they also have some traffic in dates, which they fetch in caravans from Sioua in the Ammonian Oasis; it is a journey of twelve to fifteen days. These Arabs are *marabouths*, or peaceful people." [2]

He goes on to say they never make war, and only take up arms to defend themselves. In his time the tribe was composed of about 2,000 men, and possessed 60 horses. A little [162] [231] [162]

[1] Kennett gives the three subdivisions of the Jineishat as Madi, Samayil, and Jabr.
[2] *Memoirs Relative to Egypt*, 288.

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619
[175] later Wilkinson estimated them at about 400 men near El
[162] Terrana and the Wadi Natrun.

At the present day they are still reckoned *Murabitin*, but, like the Jumei'at, are sufficiently independent not to have to
[439] pay tribute. They share with the Awlad 'Ali in the date traffic with Bahariya Oasis, where the produce of the village of Mandisha is reserved for them, and that from Bawitti for the Awlad 'Ali.

619
682 Kennett notes (p. 54) that they demand £400 for blood-
181 money instead of £300, the usual price in the Western Desert, and alludes (p. 67) to :

> "The free and easy way in which the Gawabees tribe near the Wadi Natrun pack up their summer tents and leave them in situ while they themselves trek off with their winter tents into the open desert for the winter grazing is indicative of this code of honesty prevailing among them."

142
619 On page 101, he calls them "nearly all very small men, with strangely similar features and characteristics running through all the families of the tribe".

619
173 Bramly has collected three pedigrees of the tribe all going back to Sheikh 'Abd el-Jawad el-Kassar. They state that they are an offshoot from the Qadadfa, and about 500 years ago left Saqiet el-Hamra in Morocco to settle in Egypt.

As a reward for "settling some affairs in the Wadi Natrun", Muhammad 'Ali Pasha granted them the usual Bedouin privilege of exemption from military service. There are small colonies of them elsewhere among the Awlad Ali, while others are settled in the cultivated provinces of Giza, Beheira, Menufiya, and Gharbiya.

Jumei'at.—This tribe, possibly a remnant of the original Libyan inhabitants of Mariut, is of quite respectable antiquity, for Ibn Khaldun includes the Jumei'at as a subtribe of "Beni 'Ali", themselves an offshoot from Beni Suleim. Whether his "Beni 'Ali" are the same as the modern Awlad 'Ali may be questioned, yet it is a reasonable assumption, for the exchange of the words "Beni" and "Awlad" in tribal names can be paralleled elsewhere.

The Jumei'at all agree that their remote ancestor, whom they share with the Awlad Suleiman and the Qat'an, was called Ka'b, and a Ka'b indeed appears in the pedigree ascribed

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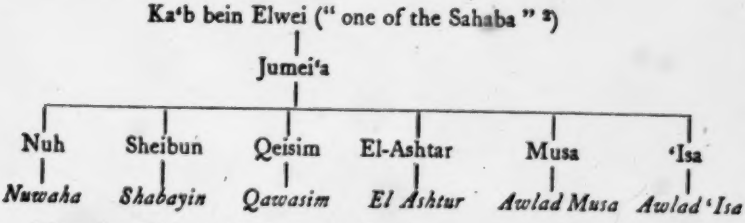
to Dib by Ibn Khaldun, who calls Dib a descendant of Ka'b, the great-grandson of Suleim.[1] If this be true, the Jumei'at must be an elder branch than any of the Sa'adi tribes, among whom the Awlad 'Ali are included. But in actual fact, the Awlad 'Ali do not consider the Jumei'at as of Sa'adi origin, that is, descendants of Abu Dib and his wife Sa'ada, but despise them as Murabitin or vassals, though they pay no tribute.

All this may be interpreted to mean that they are among the oldest inhabitants of Western Egypt. They have been in Egypt "seven hundred years" according to one of their sheikhs, Sa'ad Bey el-Masri, and a pedigree given me by another, Sheikh 'Ilwani Suleiman, who lives near Sidi 'Abd el-Rahman, runs :



The Jumei'at of Mariut are all descended from El-Ashtar, while the offspring of the other five sons are settled in Beheira, Gharbiya, and at Ramla near Alexandria.

It is, of course, possible that their eponymous ancestor, Jumei'a, was an Arab of Beni Suleim descent, who returned to Egypt from the "Green Mountain", soon after the Beni Suleim invasion, and whose descendants became Murabitin by forming themselves into a religious community. But such religious fervour is not a Bedouin characteristic, but smacks rather of the fanaticism of the recently-converted, so I suspect the Jumei'at, in spite of their descent from Ka'b, to be mainly a remnant of the earlier Libyan population of the coast.

Prior to the arrival of the Awlad 'Ali, they were "Mrabit" to the Beni 'Una, and engaged in constant conflict with the Hanadi. Upon the rout and annihilation of the Beni 'Una, the Jumei'at were stirred up to revolt against the Hanadi by one of their holy men called Baqush. Outraged by their

[1] The more ignorant Awlad Suleiman have forgotten Ka'b's paternity, and confused him with the famous Arab poet Ka'b ibn Zuheir. See p. 287 for their version. And yet another Jumei'i version gives as their ancestor the Saint Ka'b el Ahbar.

[2] The "Friends" of the Prophet.

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619 oppression, he gathered his people and delivered a fiery
175 denunciation of his religion, during which he smashed his
726 rosary into pieces and mixed it with his horse's fodder ;
792 Baqush then invited their kinsmen (?) the Awlad 'Ali, to come over from the "Green Mountain" and help them. To entice the Awlad 'Ali, he is said to have sent them samples of salt desert water and Nile water sweetened with sugar to illustrate the difference between the hardships of the desert and the comforts of the Rif.[1]

619 As recounted earlier, the Awlad 'Ali completely routed the
175 Hanadi and their allies, and drove them from the desert.
726 In the division of the conquered territory, the Jumei'at received a third, and, although they were still considered Murabitin, were released from the payment of tribute. They
[131] now live intermingled with the free sections of the Awlad 'Ali, all along the north coast of Egypt, and are numerous in Beheira, especially near Abu Hummus.

619 *Ṣamalus.*—The Samalus are found scattered among the
[131] Awlad 'Ali on the northern coast and stranded among many of the Egyptian provinces. They once possessed a head sheikh Abu Sala at Minya, and colonies are recorded from Faiyum, Beheira, Menufiya, Gharbiya, and Sharqiya. An
[175] old paper from the Recruiting Department gives from
[162] seventeen villages in the Faiyum 775 mounted Samalus
[231] and 1,400 on foot, possessing 1,760 camels and 11,400 sheep. Two important groups of wells, both called "Sawani
[312] es-Samalus" exist on the north coast, one about 50 kilometres east of Salum, and the other 20 kilometres south of Dhab'a.

[173] They say they came to Egypt, 400 strong, about 200 years ago, from the Wadi Samalus in the Jebel Akhdar, and their ancestor twelve generations ago was Nasr el-Hasani, of course an "Arab from Beni Ṣuleim".

[175] In the *Description de l'Egypte*, P. D. Martin relates how
[726] in 1800 the Samalus of Faiyum were raided by a party of Ferjan, 200 strong, from Beheira.

619 *Shiheibat.*—These are a "Mrabit" tribe from the west with
186 an unenviable reputation, living near the Wadi Natrun. Sayed Idris, the former Senussi leader, says of them : "Most

[1] Dumreicher, 16. This is probably the "Sheik Abdall Gawyal Bagooshi" who wrote to Sir Sydney Smith in March, 1801, warning him of the approach of the French from Damanhur. Wilson, *History of the British Expedition in Egypt*, 371. (Rif = cultivated area.)

9: Murray E, K-3, 4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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herds have a black goat or two—such are the Shiheibat." They are families of shepherds scattered amongst the Sa'adi families, and must not be confused with the 'Esheibat section of the Awlad 'Ali.

Dumreicher (pp. 52–7) gives a lively account of a quarrel between the Jawabis and the Shiheibat.